

Message Text

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ACTION IO-10

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INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPETOWN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 578

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: UN PFOR SF LI

SUBJECT: VORSTER VISIT TO LIBERIA

1. LIBERIAN PERMREP BARNES HAS CIRCULATED AS GA/SC DOCUMENT
DATED FEB 24 A STATEMENT TO SYG CONCERNING VORSTER'S
VISIT TO LIBERIA, SIGNED BY LIBERIAN PRESIDENT TOLBERT.
TEXT FOLLOWS:

2. QUOTE MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA
TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD TODAY THE ISSUES OF RIGHT, JUSTICE,
FAIR PLAY AND HUMAN DIGNITY ARE CONSTANTLY AND UNFORTUNATELY
IN DISPUTE. WHETHER ON THE JURIDICAL, ECONOMIC, MORAL,
SOCIAL OR HUMANISTIC LEVEL, RELATIONSHIPS AMONG NATIONS
AND PEOPLES ARE IN SERIOUS NEED OF RECONSTRUCTION OR REPAIR.
IT IS ON THE BASIS OF THIS FUNDAMENTAL NEED FOR THE IM-
PROVEMENT OF CONDITIONS OF LIFE FOR ALL THE PEOPLES OF OUR
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ONE WORLD THAT WE HAVE ACCEPTED MANKIND AS OUR CHALLENGE.

THE LIMITS OF THIS WORLD AS WELL AS THE HIGH DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND THE EXPANSION OF ALMOST INSTANT COMMUNICATION HAS FORCED UPON ITS INHABITANTS A GREATER DEGREE OF INTERDEPENDENCE THAN EVER BEFORE. JUST AS NO NATION CAN EXIST TODAY IN COMPLETE ISOLATION, SO ALSO IS THE WHOLE WORLD AFFECTED BY ILLS IN ANY PART OF IT. LIBERIA HAS ALWAYS RECOGNIZED THIS FACT AND, OVER THE YEARS OF ITS INDEPENDENCE, PARTICULARLY THROUGHOUT THE PRESENT CENTURY, PARTICIPATED IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE GENERAL IMPROVEMENT OF WORLD CONDITIONS, ESPECIALLY THOSE OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLES.

I REMAIN CONVINCED THAT THERE IS A NEED FOR A CHANGE OF ATTITUDE IN THE RELATIONS AMONG THE NATIONS OF OUR WORLD TO OCCASION THE REALIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE, SECURITY AND PROGRESS. THE NEW ATTITUDE WAS DESCRIBED IN MY SECOND ANNUAL MESSAGE TO THE SECOND SESSION OF THE FORTY-SEVENTH LEGISLATURE ON 23 JANUARY 1973, WHEN I SAID:

"THE ADOPTION, THEREFORE, OF AN ATTITUDE OF MUTUAL RESPECT, RECOGNITION AND TOLERANCE OF THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF EACH NATION AND PEOPLE APPEARS TO BE THE MORE REASONABLE, ACCEPTABLE AND PRUDENT NORM. IN ORDER TO ARRIVE AT SUCH A REALIZATION, SEVERAL CONSIDERATIONS ARE SUGGESTED, AMONG THEM A CHANGE OF PERSPECTIVE, A READJUSTMENT OF ATTITUDE, A REAPPRAISAL OF THE NECESSITY AND DESIRE FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY AND THE POSITIVE DEMONSTRATION OF RECONCILIATION."

WE TAKE THE VIEW, THEREFORE, THAT THE UNHAPPY AND DISTRESSFUL SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA IS AS MUCH OUR CONCERN AS THAT OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE AREA AND WE IN THIS COUNTRY HAVE ALWAYS MANIFESTED DEEP INTEREST IN THE SEARCH FOR PRACTICAL AND JUST SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEM THERE. WE ARE DEFINITELY OPPOSED TO COLONIALISM WHICH HAS TAKEN A WELCOME TURN IN AFRICA FOR THE COMPLETE ERADICATION OF ITS LAST VESTIGES. SIMILARLY, THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS MADE CLEAR ITS POSITION IN OPPOSITION TO ALIEN MINORITY RULE AND APARTHEID IN AFRICA.

THE RECORDS WILL CONFIRM LIBERIA'S OPPOSITION TO: (1) THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S POLICY OF APARTHEID, (2) THAT COUNTRY'S REFUSAL AS MANDATORY TO GRANT INDEPENDENCE TO NAMIBIA, AND (3) ITS SUPPORT FOR AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF COLONIALISM AND ALIEN MINORITY RULE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. NEVERTHELESS, UNCLASSIFIED

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WE REMAIN UNRELENTING IN OUR EFFORTS TO ASSIST IN FINDING A SOLUTION BASED ON MUTUAL RESPECT, JUSTICE, EQUALITY AND HUMAN DIGNITY. WITHIN THIS CONTEXT ALONE CAN WE AND WILL WE APPROACH THESE PROBLEMS. WE ARE ACCORDINGLY COMMITTED AS ALWAYS TO THE PROMOTION OF PEACE, PROGRESS AND SECURITY IN AFRICA AND THROUGHOUT OUR ONE WORLD, AND WE SHALL NOT CEASE IN OUR SEARCH UNTIL THE WHOLE OF AFRICA IS FREE.

IN MY INAUGURAL ADDRESS, DELIVERED ON 3 JANUARY 1972,

I IDENTIFIED THE BASIS OF THIS ADMINISTRATION'S ATTITUDE
AND SET THE CRITERIA FOR DIALOGUE WITH OTHER NATIONS. I
DECLARED AND I QUOTE:

"WHERE THE PROPER BASIS FOR UNDERSTANDING IS LACKING,
WHERE THE CONSTANT INTERACTION OF DIVERSE ELEMENTS EASILY
MAKES FOR DISCORD AND DISHARMONY, WHERE THERE IS A NATURAL
TENDENCY TO HARBOUR DOUBTS, MISTRUST, SUSPICION AND FEAR,
THERE IS THE UPLIFTING REALITY AND THE COMFORTING ASSURANCE
THAT MAN IS ENDOWED BY A BENEFICENT CREATOR WITH THE CAPACITY
TO REASON, TO TRUST AND TO CARE. IT IS WITHIN THIS SPIRIT
THAT NATIONS OF THE WORLD MUST FIND THE COMPULSION TO COMBINE
THEIR COLLECTIVE EFFORTS FOR THE DEMOLITION OF BARRIERS
THAT REFLECT MISUNDERSTANDING, SELFISHNESS, PERSONAL
AND NATIONAL EXPERIENCES, INTOLERANCE, PREJUDICE AND HATE.

"WITHIN THIS SHRINKING WORLD, THE CONTINUOUS ADVANCEMENT
OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY PROVIDES ALMOST INSTANTANEOUS
COMMUNICATIONS WITH ITS REMOTEST PARTS AND FACILITATES
AN EVER-INCREASING ADMIXTURE OF PEOPLES, CULTURE, IDEOLOGIES
AND TRADITIONS. IT IS, THEREFORE, OUR FIRM CONVICTION THAT
AN INDISPENSABLE AID IN OUR SEARCH FOR A LASTING PEACE AND
FOR PERMANENT UNDERSTANDING AMONG MEN LIES IN THE FULLEST
UTILIZATION OF DIRECT DIALOGUE BETWEEN THOSE NATIONS WHO,
DURING THE EVOLUTION OF TIME, HAVE COME TO ACCORD MUTUAL
RESPECT FOR EACH OTHER'S ASPIRATIONS - REGARDLESS OF THE
RACE, CREED OR STATUS OF THEIR CONSTITUENT PEOPLES. SUCH
DIALOGUES COULD PROVIDE AN EFFECTIVE MECHANISM FOR BRIDGING
THE CHASMS OF MISUNDERSTANDING AND FOR SPANNING THE DEEP
GORGES OF SUSPICION AND MISTRUST BETWEEN NATIONS OF THE WORLD.
THUS COULD BE EFFECTUATED A REDUCTION IN WORLD TENSIONS AND
REMOVAL OF THE LINGERING OF SUCH CONFLICTS WHICH IN THEM-
SELVES ARE FRAUGHT WITH POSSIBILITIES FOR GLOBAL CONFRON-
TATION. SUCH DIALOGUES COULD ALSO SERVE THE FURTHER PURPOSE
OF ESTABLISHING THE BASIS FOR ATTITUDES OF COMPROMISE AND OF
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PRODUCING RECONCILIATORY ACTION AMONG NATIONS, THEREBY
DRAWING MANKIND CLOSER TO THE REALIZATION OF DREAMS FOR
PEACE IN OUR ONE WORLD. HOWEVER, WE CANNOT BRING OURSELVES
TO BELIEVE THAT FRUITFUL RESULTS COULD BE OBTAINED FROM THE
INITIATION OF DIRECT DIALOGUE WITH NATIONS WHO STUBBORNLY
REFUSE TO ACCEPT AND ADHERE TO THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES
OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ESPOUSED IN
THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND WHO, CONTRARY TO AN
OVERWHELMING TIDE OF WORLD OPINION, PERSISTENTLY AND WITH
DEFIANCE PURSUE A POLICY OF REPRESSIVE AND INHUMAN OPPRESSION
OF THE MAJORITY OF THEIR PEOPLES. DEFINITELY WE DO BELIEVE
AND WE REMAIN ADAMANT IN OUR CONVICTION THAT ALL MEN ARE
ENTITLED TO THE ENJOYMENT OF FREEDOM, LIBERTY AND JUSTICE
AND THAT THESE INALIENABLE RIGHTS CANNOT BE WITHHELD
OR DENIED WITHOUT OFFERING A GRAVE AFFRONT, NOT ONLY TO THE

DIGNITY AND TRUE WORTH OF THE HUMAN PERSON, BUT MORE
IMPORTANT, TO THE DIVINE - IN WHOSE IMAGE ALL MEN ARE CREATED.
WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT THE EFFECTIVENESS OF DIRECT DIALOGUE,
AS A POSITIVE CATALYST FOR COMMON UNDERSTANDING AND PEACE
AMONG MEN, MUST CERTAINLY BE CONTINGENT UPON MUTUAL REGARD
FOR HUMAN DIGNITY AND RECIPROCAL RESPECT BETWEEN NATIONS
AND INDIVIDUALS UNIMPAIRED BY ABSURD ATTITUDES OF CONDESCENSION
OR VAIN ILLUSIONS OF RACIAL SUPERIORITY."

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INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

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CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

ON THE BASIS, THEREFORE, OF OUR DECLARED POLICY, WE CONTINUE
ON THE LINES OF AN OBJECTIVE SEARCH FOR THE TRUTH. WHILE IN
LESOTHO IN JULY, WE WERE APPROACHED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF
SOUTH AFRICANS TO ENTER INTO DIALOGUE WITH THE SOUTH
AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AS A FIRST STEP IN DEALING WITH THE PROBLEMS
OF APARTHEID IN NAMIBIA. IN RESPONSE, WE REITERATED THE CONDITIONS
ON WHICH WE WOULD JOIN IN DIALOGUE WITH THAT GOVERNMENT,
WHICH INCLUDED DIALOGUE IN SOUTH AFRICA BETWEEN AND AMONG
THE PEOPLES THEMSELVES. AGAIN IN NEW YORK, IN NOVEMBER,
LAST YEAR, WE WERE APPROACHED ALONG THE SAME LINES BY PEOPLE
WHO SHOWED A GENUINE INTEREST IN THE PROMOTION OF PEACE AND

SECURITY IN THE AREA.

IN ORDER TO BE FULLY AND ACCURATELY INFORMED ABOUT THE SITUATION AS IT EXISTS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA, WE INVITED CHIEF M. GATSHA BUTHELEZI OF KWAZULU, CHIEF EXECUTIVE COUNCILLOR AND LEADER OF OVER 4 MILLION ZULUS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND, I AM INFORMED, ONE OF THE MOST HIGHLY RESPECTED AFRICANS IN THE ENTIRE AREA, TO VISIT LIBERIA. WE WELCOMED HIS VISIT WHICH HE MADE FROM 31 DECEMBER 1974 TO 6 JANUARY 1975 AND UNCLASSIFIED

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IT AFFORDED US AN UNUSUAL OPPORTUNITY TO OBTAIN FIRST-HAND INFORMATION ABOUT THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA FROM A PROMINENT AND RENOWNED LEADER OF OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN THAT COUNTRY.

IN RESPONSE TO OUR INVITATION, MR. SAM NJOMO, PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTH WEST AFRICA PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION (SWAPO) PAID US A WEEK'S VISIT BEGINNING 1 FEBRUARY THIS YEAR. SWAPO, AS YOU MAY KNOW, IS THE ONLY LIBERATION MOVEMENT OF NAMIBIA RECOGNIZED BY THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY.

AS IN THE CASE OF CHIEF BUTHELEZI OF SOUTH AFRICA, MR. NJOMO, A SON OF NAMIBIA, PROVIDED MUCH INFORMATION ABOUT NAMIBIA AND THE EFFORTS OF SWAPO TO LIBERATE THE NAMIBIANS. AS I HAD BEEN INFORMED BY CHIEF BUTHELEZI THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAD UNDERTAKEN DIALOGUE WITH THE BLACK PEOPLE OF THAT COUNTRY, THE CRITERION FOR DIALOGUE WITH THAT GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN MET AND THE STAGE WAS NOW SET FOR DIRECT COMMUNICATION BETWEEN US AND, IN KEEPING WITH MY PRACTICE OF HEARING BOTH SIDES IN ANY DISPUTE OR MISUNDERSTANDING TO ASCERTAIN THE TRUTH, I FELT IT MY DUTY TO PERMIT PRIME MINISTER VORSTER TO PRESENT HIS SIDE TO ME.

PRIME MINISTER JOHN VORSTER WITH HIS MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND A DELEGATION OF HIGH-RANKING OFFICIALS ARRIVED IN LIBERIA ON THE 11TH INSTANT AND, AFTER LENGTHY DISCUSSIONS WITH US, DEPARTED IN THE AFTERNOON OF THE 12TH. THE PRIME MINISTER AND I DISCUSSED EXTENSIVELY THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE NEED TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTH AFRICA, BUT ON THE BASIS OF EQUALITY.

IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTIONS, THE PRIME MINISTER INFORMED ME THAT HIS BANTUSTAN POLICY WAS DESIGNED TO PROVIDE INDEPENDENCE FOR THE BLACKS IN AREAS OCCUPIED BY THEM. HE ADMITTED CERTAIN INJUSTICES OF THE POLICY, BUT ASSURED ME THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD DO ALL IT COULD TO REMOVE THEM IN STAGES.

IN ANSWER TO MY ASSERTION THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT SHOULD RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT OF NAMIBIA TO INDEPENDENCE AND DEFINITELY INDICATE WHEN AND HOW INDEPENDENCE WOULD COME ABOUT, MR. VORSTER SAID: "WE DO NOT WANT AN INCH OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA'S TERRITORY AND I WOULD BE ONLY TOO PLEASED TO GET SOUTH WEST AFRICA OFF OUR BACKS". HE ASSURED ME THAT AS SOON AS VIOLENCE STOPPED IN ZIMBABWE, SOUTH AFRICA

WOULD WITHDRAW ITS POLICE. BUT HE WARNED THAT AFRICANS MUST
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HELP FIND A SOLUTION AND NOT DEMAND WHITE SURRENDER. I
EMPHASIZED MORE THAN ONCE THAT (BEGIN UNDERLINE) THE WHOLE
OF NAMIBIA (SOUTH WEST AFRICA) MUST BE GIVEN INDEPENDENCE
AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT MUST DEFINITELY INDICATE
WHEN AND HOW INDEPENDENCE WILL COME ABOUT. (END UNDERLINE)
WITH THIS FINAL NOTE CLEARLY SOUNDED, ON WHICH THERE WAS
MUTUAL AGREEMENT, THE FORMAL DISCUSSION ENDED.

AFTER THE TALKS WITH CHIEF BUTHELEZI, MR. SAM NJOMO
AND PRIME MINISTER VORSTER, I CAN SAFELY SAY THAT I AM THE
MORE AND THE BETTER INFORMED ABOUT THE SITUATION IN SOUTH
AFRICA AND NAMIBIA AND AS TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S
ATTITUDE TO ZIMBABWE.

IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN RELATIONS, IT IS IMPORTANT
TO RECOGNIZE THE INTERPLAY, INTERDEPENDENCE AND INTERACTION
OF BEHAVIOUR WHICH, IF PROPERLY DIRECTED, CAN PRODUCE PEACE,
PROGRESS AND SECURITY IN THE WORLD. ATTEMPTING TO ASSIST IN
THE DIRECTION OF THESE ATTITUDES IN THE INTEREST AND FOR THE
BENEFIT OF MANKIND, I AM A "REMOVER OF ANY BARRIER THAT SANDS
IN THE WAY OF PEACE, PROGRESS AND SECURITY", I AM A "BREAKER
OF ANY WALL THAT DIVIDES US - MANKIND IN GENERAL", AND A
"BUILDER OF ALL BRIDGES THAT ARE NEEDED TO UNITE US -MANKIND
IN GENERAL".

THIS IS OUR AIM - THIS IS OUR GOAL - AND WE FEEL A COMMIT-
MENT TO GO ANYWHERE AND TALK WITH ANYONE AT THE RISK OF
MY VERYLIFE, IF OUR STATED CRITERIA ARE MET, TO CONTRIBUTE
TO THE PEACE, PROGRESS AND SECURITY OF OUR ONE WORLD.

WILLIAM R. TOLBERT, JR. UNQUOTE
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